2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai.

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[3] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[4] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[5]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168.

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony.

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made

[3] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 281.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 167.

[5] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 12, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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position in connection with the nature of the major and minor territorial sections is questionable. FOSBROOKE has put into evidence the marginal significance of the *laibon* for Masai social organisation. He has also shown how wrong it is to ascribe to the prophet's institution a political function. The prophet can only obtain a personal political influence which is his, and not of his office. Now, to describe the *laibon's* institution as the point of allegiance of territorial sections' members is tantamount to making the prophet a central political authority which he is certainly not. The important point in the nature of the territorial sections is members' consciousness of their strength and sufficiency as to be entitled to keep tribal ceremonies of their own.[13] In studying the Laitayok minor section FOSBROOKE brings that home: "in some areas they (the Laitayok) have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually they came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own". FOSBROOKE insists on the fortuitous origin of the territorial minor sections. The point becomes obvious if the nomadism of the Masai and the abselce of any centralised authority are kept in mind. People remain in a definite place only for as long as [221] they find good grazing and water for their cattle, but they move as soon as these fail, thus breaking up their territorial allegiance.

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The following is a tentative list of minor territorial sections deducted from the literature:

SAMBURU.	1. Pusigishu	4. L'Orogishu	7. Longeli
	2. Masola	5. Doiju	8. Nyabarei
	3. Lukumai	6. Mwesi	9. Loimusi
NJAMUSI.	According to DUNDAS,[14] there are only two villages: Njemps Kubwa or Njemps Liabori – down stream; and Njemps Ndogo or Njemps Lekepir – up stream.		
KAPITI.	1. Kaputiei or Kapiti	3. Ladokilarsi	6. Purko
		4. Kakonyuke	7. Loita
	2. Damat	5. Dalalakotok	8. Matapatu

[13] One should note here that tribal ceremonies are ceremonies connected with the institution of age-sets, a fact wich sleds light on the integrating power of the age-system. See BERNARDI, *The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples*, in *Africa*, 22, 1952, pp. 316 ss.

[14] DUNDAS, *Notes on the Tribes inhabitating the Baring district*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1910, p. 49.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mrao. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, page xi and xiv.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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Kiteto, some 50 miles south of Kibaya in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai were (and still are) the Sanbur, who in 1888 extended more than 120 miles northwards towards Lake Stefanie. This vast country, with an area amounting to some 80,000 square miles, now reduced to one-half its original size, has great varieties of altitude, climate, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation zones: the first or northern has desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 ft., though in the highlands which lie between Mounts Kenya and Elgon in zone 3 the land in some places rises to 10,000 ft. Most of the present Masai Land Unit is in zone 2; part of the extreme northern territory of pre-European times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging from 6,000 to 4,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru. Much of this country is unfertile, and belongs to zone 2. In Tanganyika Masailand, there is one permanent river, the Ruvu or Pangani, on the eastern boundary; there are a few seasonal rivers, but for their main water supply the Masai depend on wells, water-holes, and springs. Since only the third zone is well watered, and most of the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water quest, and in the worst areas a form of transhumance is practised. In the present Masai Land Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the few large rivers run close together in bush country useless for grazing; the main rivers, too, rise in the Mau and unite less than halfway across the Land Unit in one stream, the E-wuaso Nyiro. There are no lakes except the soda lakes Magadi, Natron, and Manyara, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai is the chain of lakes Baringo, Hannington (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand from south to north. In many places the floor of the valley is a wide grassy plain; in others, as in the Kerio Valley, it is narrow with high precipitous walls. The rainfall is low, the average for the eight years 1915–17 and 1930–4 at Narok being 18 ins., with a range of 47 ins. to 12 ins. It is recorded that at Longido in one year there fell only 8 ins., three of them in one night. With such a rainfall, grazing cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in the Masai steppe between Kibaya and Arusha for nine years is 24.4 ins. There are two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February (January: 1915, 0.00 in.; 916, 4.20 ins.; 1917, 9.44 ins.; February: 1915, 1.48 ins.; 1916, 5.09 ins.; 1917, 5.2 ins.; though in 1918—a dry year in Kenya—there was only 0.28 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger" by the Masai. The recognized wet season is from March to May, "the months of plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, notably June to August, which are called "the months of showers." The figures given for Kenya refer only to Narok, and in the more arid parts there is not only less rainfall, but the small precipitation out of season has little effect on grazing or water supply. Except in the highland zone, where there is some seasonal variation, day temperatures vary only between 60° and 65° F.

SOURCES: Thomson, 885; Sandford, 1919; Page-Jones, 1948; James, 1930.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

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In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters; in the wet season the cattle are driven to the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the kraals are built a few miles from the water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next day they

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

123 beside a trail near a Masai village. In the early morning
921 a party of Africans from nearby Sukamaland raided the Masai village, killing at least one man and making off with the cattle. At dawn the Masai discovered their loss and ran off in full war regalia to intercept the raiders. Their route took them right through our camp where we were eating breakfast. Coming at a full run with spears and shields they looked rather fearsome, but as they passed they all waved and shouted greetings. Shortly thereafter they caught the raiders and bloodily recovered their stock.

123 Being in the position of neutral, nomadic
124 residents it seemed perfectly appropriate and natural for us to casually discuss mutual interests including livestock, grasses, weather and wildlife with passing Masai, and vice versa. Consequently our status in the area helped us greatly in obtaining information. What we were told by the Masai agreed with our own observations, and was often at variance with what they told visiting anthropologists and others.

*233 Social Organization: The Masai in the study
• [221] area are essentially semi-nomadic pastoral people. Their
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Building a large boma entails cutting a large number of trees (Fig. 22). Where trees are thick in Western Masailand there are tsetse flies (Fig. 23). Consequently the bomas are constructed away from them in more open country, in open grassland near to hills or watercourses or in open parkland. Under such conditions a large boma can result in the clearance of larger woody growth -- for initial construction, subsequent repair, and for fires -- from an area ranging from about several dozen acres to a square mile.

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Fosbrooke (1948), Grant (1957), and Page-Jones (1948) have noted that the Masai normally placed their dry season bomas within about five miles of permanent water. One day they graze the animals to and from water, letting them drink. The second day they graze the opposite direction, and on the third day they return to water. Thus a rough circle with diameter of ten miles is grazed around each boma. In the wet season the Masai leave the boma, either setting up a new one in an area of good [887] grazing, or making temporary camps (Ibid.). Occasionally old people with a few milk cows are left behind in the main dry season boma. Under the present conditions in Western Masailand we saw very few large bomas that were 342 not located at permanent water. It may be that increases 343 in stock, or decreases in available water, or some other *233

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Animal Husbandry

233 It is widely believed that since the Masai are a pastoral people whose life revolves around their livestock, they are, therefore, experts in the arts of animal husbandry. If the success of animal husbandry is judged by the numbers of animals [redacted] during years of good rainfall and forage, and [redacted] portance attached to those animals then the Masai are successful in animal husbandry. If, however, success is judged on the quality of the animals, their survival in drought years, and management of the range so that productivity is not lowered through overgrazing, then from the evidence we have seen the animal husbandry of the Masai is very poor.

Prior to European times the grazing pattern of the Masai livestock must have been very similar to that of the migratory wild ungulates. In the wet seasons when there was plenty of water they could graze over a wide area. In the dry seasons they retreated to permanent water. The numbers of livestock a Masai could keep were limited by disease, predation, raiding by other Masai or Africans of different tribes, water, and food supply. 221 233 The Masai were nomadic, in that they moved about following forage and water for their animals. From the evidence of Fosbrooke, Grant, and others, this movement of the

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233 Masai was not an unoriented wandering but it was instead a regular seasonal movement from one established area to another, and back. In this sense the movements of the Masai fit the definition of animal migration -- "seasonal and regular passages..." given by Bourlière (1955:203). Each social group apparently had a dry season water supply near which they maintained bomas, as described above. In the wet seasons some of the tribe took the livestock away to take advantage of the more abundant
(619) grass, and water in other areas. Since there were well defined areas belonging to or controlled by different clans or sections (Hollis, 1905), the wet season movements of the individual Masai must have been relatively circumscribed. This is the case at present in Western Massailand. Each village has an area where it sends its livestock during the wet season in addition
(628) to the water near the base boma. Although these wet season areas may be changed periodically, there is some sort of agreement between different villages regarding division of available grazing, and disputes arise when one village's area is invaded by another.

233 It appears to us that both in former times and at present the absolute limits to the numbers of livestock a Masai could keep and the pattern of his grazing